

C. Webb

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REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES

BROUGHT BY THE

ROMAN CATHOLICS

AGAINST THE

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

AT THE

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

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Tracy, Joseph

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.

1843.

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REFUTATION, &c.

[THE following article was written by the author of the "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," and shows how utterly destitute of truth and evidence are the charges brought by Roman Catholic missionaries and their partisans against the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.]

The Missionaries accused, and condemned without investigation.

The outrage committed at the Sandwich Islands in July, 1839, by Capt. Laplace, of the French frigate *l'Artemise*, is doubtless known and remembered throughout the Christian world. On his arrival at Honolulu, July 9, he issued a manifesto, in which he declared that "to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from this [the Sandwich Islands] Archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign." The same day, he addressed a note to the American Consul, in which he offered protection on board his frigate, during the threatened hostilities, to all American citizens, except "the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me," he added, "they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country." This certainly means, that the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, or at least the clerical members of the mission, had advised and induced the government to persecute the Roman Catholics, and that for this offence, they must suffer "all the unhappy consequences of a war," which he was threatening to commence. Neither their sacred office, nor their American citizenship, was to be regarded. No intimation was given, that any member of the mission, or any missionary's wife or child, could be allowed to escape the "unhappy consequences" of a bombardment. And yet there had been no investigation, for the purpose of ascertaining whether this accusation against the missionaries was true or false; or if true, whether all or only some of them were guilty.

These proceedings are open to many very grave objections, which it will not be easy to remove; but which must be removed, or the whole transaction must be regarded as infamous, and must cover all who are responsible for it with lasting disgrace. It is our present purpose, however, to consider only one of them; to examine the question, which Capt. Laplace, or whoever is responsible for his conduct, was bound to investigate before pronouncing sentence. We propose to inquire whether his charge against the American missionaries is true.

The King's Testimony.

Happily, official documents come to our aid. The United States' Consul at Honolulu could not neglect to examine the truth of a charge which had been made the pretext for denying to so many of his fellow citizens the rights of their citizenship. Soon after the departure of the frigate, therefore, the following correspondence took place.

[The United States' Consul to the King.]

United States' Consulate, Sandwich Islands, Oct. 26, 1839.

SIR:—As the opinion seems to be to some extent entertained, that American citizens residing in the Sandwich Islands as missionaries under the patronage of an incorporated institution of the United States, have exerted a controlling influence upon the framers of the laws of this country, I have very respectfully to inquire, if they have ever had any voice in the passage of laws affecting the interests of other foreigners; and particularly whether they have ever had any thing to do in the measures adopted by your government, for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country; and whether, in the treatment which has been shown to any subject of the government of France, they have directly or indirectly recommended the course pursued by your government; and also, whether, in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your own subjects, they have countenanced those attempts. If they have in any of these respects controlled the action of your government, will you be pleased to inform me, very explicitly, in what manner and to what extent. An early reply will be a favor.

With the highest considerations, I have the honor to be,

Your Majesty's most obedient servant,

P. A. BRINSMADe, United States' Consul.

[The King to the United States' Consul.]

Kauwila House, present residence of the king of Hawaii, Oct. 28, 1839.

My respects to you, the American Consul:

I have received your letter, asking questions respecting the American missionaries, supposed by some to regulate the acts of my government under me. I, together with the chiefs under me, now clearly declare to you, that we do not see any thing in which your questions are applicable to the American missionaries. From the time the missionaries first arrived, they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instruction in letters, and delivering the word of God, has been their business.

They were hesitatingly permitted to remain by the chiefs of that time, because they were said to be about to take away the country. We exercised forbearance, however, and protected all the missionaries; and as they frequently arrived in this country, we permitted them to remain in this kingdom, because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labors, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them in order to be instructed in letters, for those things were in our opinion really true.

When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the Islands, and also their business. There was not a clear understanding with this company of priests, as there was with that; because they landed in the country secretly, without Kaahumanu's hearing any thing about their remaining here.

When the number of the followers of the Romish religion became considerable, certain captains of whaleships told Kaahumanu of the evil of this way; and thus Capt. D.—— informed me of a great destruction in Britain in ancient time, and that his ancestors died in that slaughter, and he thought a like work would soon be done here. That was the company who informed us of the evil of the Romish religion; and also a certain French man of war, and a certain British man of war, approved of what we did.

Inasmuch as I do not know of the American missionaries having had any thing to do in my business with my chiefs, I have therefore inquired of them, the chiefs, and they say, no, in the same manner as I now say no to you.

Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things done by certain missionaries, viz.: what Mr. Bingham said to Kaahumanu: "I have seen some people made to serve at hard labor on account of their having worshipped according to the Romish religion. Whose thought is that?" Kaahumanu said to him, "Mine." Then he that spake to her objected quickly, saying, "It is not proper for you to do thus, for you have no law that will apply." When he said that, then Kaahumanu immediately replied to him with great strength, "The law respecting idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken." Mr. Clark also, and Mr. Chamberlain spoke to Kinau, while Kaahumanu was yet alive, and objected to said conduct; and afterwards, Dr. Judd. And at a certain time Mr. Bingham and Mr. Bishop disputed strongly with Kinau, on account of the wrong of punishing those of the Romish religion.

And now, in Kekauluohi's time, Mr. Richards disputed strongly with Kekuanoa, urging the entire abolition of that thing, and that kindness should be bestowed on them, that they might be pleased, giving them also an instructor to teach them the right way; and thus also he said to Kekauluohi and to me.

And afterwards, when Mr. Bingham heard by Mr. Hooper that certain women were confined in irons at the fort, he went immediately and made known to Kekuanoa the wickedness of their confinement for that thing; and when Kekuanoa heard it, he immediately sent a man, and afterwards went himself to the fort, to set the prisoners free; for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.

Should it be said by accusers, that the American missionaries are the authors of one law of the kingdom, the law respecting the sale of rum, or if not, that they have urged it strongly, I would say, a number of captains of whale ships commenced that thing; thousands of my own people supported them; and when my chiefs saw that it was a good thing, they requested me to do according to the petition of that company; and when I saw that it was really an excellent thing, then I chose that as a rule of my kingdom.

But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or overrule our acts, we deny it, it is not so.

We think that perhaps these are their real crimes:—Their teaching us knowledge; their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners; their not taking the sword into their hand, and saying to us with power, stop, punish not the worshippers in the Romish religion.

But to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that, since the time of Kaahumanu I., down to the time that the Romish priest was confined on board the *Europa*.

I think, perhaps these things are not clear to you. It would perhaps be proper, therefore, that the American missionaries should be examined before you and Commodore Read, and us also.

Thus I have written you, with respect,

(Signed)

KAMEHAMEHA III.

The King's Testimony sufficient.

This is conclusive. It is matter of record, after an investigation. The king speaks not only of what was within his own personal knowledge, but what he had learned by an inquiry instituted for the very purpose of ascertaining the whole truth. It is an official communication from the supreme Executive of one nation, to the authorized representative of another. It is a document of the same kind as would be a communication from the Queen of England, with her royal signature, to the American minister at London, informing him, in answer to his inquiries, that the steamboat *Caroline* was destroyed by order of her government in Upper Canada; or that the men who lately seized Col. Grogan, in Alburgh, acted without authority from her government. Such testimony would put an end to all questioning as to the facts to which it relates, in any court of justice. There is no way of escaping from it in the case before us, but by giving his Hawaiian Majesty the lie direct, and that in respect to his most solemn official documents. Nor is escape from it attempted in any other way. A writer at the Sandwich Islands pronounces his assertions "too absurd and inconsistent, for a moment to be admitted, even by the most credulous;" and a Boston writer concludes that "he was easily influenced by fear or policy to say and un-

say, to promise and to break his promise, according to the foreign naval power lying at any time in his ports."

This uncourteous language is important on two accounts. In the first place, it precludes all dispute as to the interpretation of the king's letter. His defamers understand it to be a direct and explicit contradiction of their charges against the missionaries. And in the second place, it is an abandonment of the attempt to use the king as a witness against the missionaries. If the king is a man of truth, the charge against the missionaries is false. If he is such a liar as they now call him, a man who will "say and unsay" as "fear or policy" may dictate, and that even in his official communications with foreign nations, his testimony is worthless, and would prove nothing against the missionaries, even if it asserted their guilt.

The Accusers can produce no other witness.

How stands the case of the accusers now? By what testimony will they prove the truth of their charge? Formerly, they mentioned the king, as a witness in their favor. He comes forward and testifies that their accusation is false, and they impeach his credibility. What other witness will they introduce? Who heard the missionaries advise the government to persecute the Roman Catholics, or to expel the Romish priests? Their enemies assert that all this was done by their instigation. Capt. Laplace asserts it; but he was in some distant part of the earth when it was done, if done at all. The Romish priests assert it; but they do not even pretend to have been present, when such advice was given. Some of the foreign residents at the islands assert it; but they never tell us how they came by their knowledge. In short, no witness appears, or is named, who even professes to speak from his own personal acquaintance with the facts. It is all mere hearsay and guess-work.

The Missionaries therefore entitled to an Acquittal.

This state of the case deserves special consideration. The missionaries are charged with an offence, pronounced guilty, and threatened with all the "unhappy consequences of a war." The accusers name but one witness who can speak from his personal knowledge of the facts; and that witness testifies, in the most solemn manner, that the accusation is false. All others who have asserted that the missionaries are guilty, are persons who speak from hearsay, or who merely state their own inferences and conjectures; and of course not one of them could be admitted to testify at all in any court of justice. On this ground, again, the accused are entitled to an entire acquittal, and would receive it, before any court in the civilized world. Without a better show of evidence, no grand jury would bring in a bill against them, and no prosecuting officer, who had any regard for his character, would attempt to bring them to trial.

In this state of things, the missionaries are entitled to an acquittal by the public sentiment of Christendom. They have a right to demand, that the charges against them be abandoned, and that the attempt to injure their reputation, limit their influence, and even to endanger their lives, by asserting their guilt, be discontinued. This is their right; an important right; and to withhold it, is gross injustice. It is strange that writers can be found, acquainted with these facts, and yet willing to repeat the story, as if it were true. What hope can they have of being believed? True, by sending their publications among the uninformed, they may gain temporary believers; but do they not know that the truth must follow them, and convict them of falsehood? And can the pleasure or profit which may be secured by inflicting a temporary injury upon the missionaries, be thought sufficient to balance the lasting disgrace of ultimate detection?

Evil surmises, and means of refuting them.

We can think of but one consideration, by which the enemies of the mission can be emboldened to reiterate this charge. Many will say, that there must be some reason for the persecution of the Catholics; and as no other reason appears to have existed, we must of course ascribe it to the influence of their opponents, the Protestant missionaries. On this ground, the enemies of the mission doubtless expect that many will believe their assertions, without proof. It may be well, therefore, to inform the public, more fully than has ever yet been done, what motive induced the Hawaiian government to banish the Romish priests and punish their adherents. This will remove from all minds that are willing to think justly, all apparent necessity for supposing that the American missionaries advised persecution. It will have the further advantage of throwing light on the character of the opposition which the American mission has encountered in its field of labor. Our materials are abundant; much more abundant and much more perfect than the defamers of the mission have ever suspected, or they would have been more careful in their statements. Besides the Missionary Herald, the Annual Reports of the American Board, and several other publications emanating more or less directly from the mission, there is a mass of unpublished documents preserved in the archives of the Board, containing much curious information on this subject. We have also the Roman Catholic side of the question, from two sources. First, we have the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, published at Lyons, in France, and containing the accounts transmitted by the Romish priests to their employers;* and secondly, we have a pamphlet of 100 pages, published at Honolulu in 1840, as a supplement to the Sandwich Islands Mirror. The reputed author of the pamphlet is Mr. John C. Jones, who had previously been American Consul at Honolulu. The Rev. Robert Walsh, a Romish priest, is supposed by some to have assisted him; but of this we know not that there is any proof. It is unfortunate for the cause of the Romanists, that these two witnesses appear in their behalf; for they often and seriously contradict each other, and between them, the truth sometimes comes out, much to the disadvantage of their cause.

To make the matter perfectly intelligible, it is necessary to examine the history of the Sandwich Islands somewhat minutely.

The old idolatry. Its suppression. Civil war in its defence.

When these Islands were first discovered by Capt. Cook, in 1778, the inhabitants were idolaters, as their ancestors had been from time immemorial. They worshipped images, addressing their prayers to them, and offering them sacrifices of vegetable food, animals, and men. Human victims were esteemed the most powerful in prevailing with the gods, and were offered by the chiefs, on important occasions, and when other gifts failed to procure the desired boon. It belonged to the priests to tell when a human sacrifice was necessary, and usually to designate the victim. No man, therefore, could displease a priest, but at the risk of his life. Besides these idols, they also worshipped the shark, the great volcano, and the bones of distinguished chiefs, which were preserved for that purpose. A part of the bones of Capt. Cook were kept by the priests, to be worshipped. Another part of their religion was the *tabu* system. These *tabus* forbade women to eat with men, or to taste several of the best kinds of meat, fish, and vegetable food. They forbade any but consecrated persons to enter consecrated

* The original French edition of the Annals should be used; as, in the English edition, which may be expected to fall more frequently into the hands of Protestants, some instances of duplicity are less fully related.

places. Occasional *tabus* were issued from time to time, forbidding all persons to eat certain kinds of food, or engage in certain sports or employments. Every violation of the *tabu* was punishable with death ; and in case of transgression by the highest chiefs, it was firmly believed that the gods would inflict that punishment by miracle. Polygamy, infanticide, and almost every vice prevailed without restraint.

It is said that American merchants have resided there ever since 1786, eight years after their discovery by Capt. Cook. Vancouver visited the Islands in 1792, and again in 1793 and 1794. He introduced cattle from California, built a ship for Kamehameha, who was then king of the Islands, and told the people that, at some future time, men would come to instruct them. This promise they remembered, and expected its fulfilment.

Kamehameha died May 8, 1819. Before his death, he made some solicitous inquiries concerning the God and religion of the Christians, but could find no one to teach him. Under his son and successor, Liholiho, the abolition of the *tabu* system was discussed by the chiefs. Keopuolani, the king's mother, is said to have first tried the experiment of eating with her little son, who is probably the present king. At length the question was decided in the affirmative ; and one day in November, at dinner, the king, having ordered a pig to be carved, took it, went to the women's table, sat down between two of his wives, and ate it with them. The people exclaimed that the *tabu* was broken. The king rose and declared the system abolished, and ordered the idols and their temples to be destroyed, which was immediately done. The practice of the rites of the old religion was forbidden by law throughout the realm. We must particularly request the reader to remember the enactment of this law, and its date, which was November, 1819—nearly five months before the first American missionaries arrived. The reasons for this request will appear in due season.

The motives which led to the abolition of idolatry are not fully known. Several causes, however, contributed their influence to promote it. One was, intercourse with foreigners, and especially seeing them disregard the *tabus* with impunity. This led them to doubt the ability of their gods to punish transgressors. Another was the revolution going on in the Islands of the South Pacific, where the missionaries of the London Missionary Society were at last reaping a rich harvest of conversions. There the *tabus* were disregarded, the gods were sawed in pieces and burned, or sent to London as curiosities, human sacrifices and infanticide were abolished, and the people were fast coming into the enjoyment of the blessings of Christianity, good morals and civilization. These things were much talked of at the Sandwich Islands. Besides all this, several of the natives were receiving a Christian education in the United States. Three were taken under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in September, 1815 ; and two years afterwards, there were seven of them at the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. One of them, whose name many of our readers will remember, was George Kaumuali, (usually called Tamoree in this country,) a son of the governor, or tributary king, of the island of Kauai, who was one of the most influential chiefs. While at Cornwall, George, though not considered pious, as several of the others were, wrote his father a very excellent letter on the folly of idolatry, and the superiority of the Christian religion. George had been sent here by his father for an education. The others had come as sailors, in various ships. Probably the influence of women on this question was considerable. The *tabus* bore hard upon them, and several of them had, at that time, great influence in the nation.

Some of the priests were zealous for the abolition of idolatry. Others of them were equally zealous to maintain it. These last promised to place a certain chief upon the throne, if he would restore the old religion—the worship of images and dead men's bones, and the observance of *tabus*. He

raised the standard of civil war, but was soon defeated in a decisive battle, and his party dispersed.

The recollection of this war in defence of idolatry exerted an important influence, and the reader will need to remember it, and its date.

Arrival of the Protestant Missionaries. Roman Catholic attempt to expel them.

Meanwhile, the first Protestant missionaries to the Sandwich Islands were already on their way. They sailed from Boston, October 23, 1819,—the month preceding the abolition of idolatry. They arrived at Kailua, on Hawaii, where the king then was, March 30, 1820, after the conclusion of the civil war in defence of idolatry. They had with them George Kaumuali, and three other educated natives, who were believed to be pious, though one of them soon apostatized. They explained their object, and requested permission to land and reside on the Islands. Some of the foreign residents at once perceived, that if these men were allowed to commence their mission, and should be successful in it, a great change would be wrought; the natives would become intelligent, and would no longer sell a pig, or a barrel of potatoes, for three inches of an old iron hoop; it would become less easy to manage the chiefs by getting them drunk; and a public sentiment would be created, which would impose some restraint upon licentiousness. They therefore did what they could to prevent their landing; but after deliberating a fortnight, the government gave them leave to stay a year, by way of trial. Some of the foreign residents were friendly, and rendered them valuable aid. Others became their open enemies,—especially "Mr. John Rives," a Frenchman, who threatened that they should be expelled from the Islands at the termination of their year. In view of what occurred afterwards, it is a curious circumstance that Rives was the instigator of the first plan of expelling the missionaries from the Sandwich Islands. His plan was defeated. Before the end of the year, the government became unwilling to part with the missionaries, and even desirous that their number should be increased.

Origin of the Roman Catholic mission.

The origin and early history of the Roman Catholic mission may be best given in the words of the pamphlet published at Honolulu, interspersed with such remarks and additional statements as truth requires. It says:—

"In order to show more clearly the cause which first led to the introduction of the Catholic religion into the Hawaiian archipelago, it will be necessary to go back in the history of these isles to the year 1819, at which period Liholiho (Kamehameha II.) was king, Kalaimoku, (William Pitt, as he was called,) prime minister, and Boki, (his brother,) governor of Oahu."

This statement, as many will naturally understand it, is deceptive. It makes the impression, that Boki was the third ruler in the kingdom; whereas his rank was not higher than that of Kiamoku (Governor Cox), of Maui, or Kaumuali of Kauai, or Kuakini (Governor Adams), of Hawaii, or Naihe, hereditary chief counsellor of state, or Hoapili, the highest male chief in blood, except the king. Indeed, several, if not all, of these chiefs, were his superiors in rank and influence. The error, as will soon be seen, is not unimportant. To proceed:

"In August of that year, the French corvette, l'Uranie, M. Freycinet, commander, visited these islands, and remained several days at Oahu; during which period, Kalaimoku, in consequence of his intercourse on board, became very solicitous to receive baptism, the rites of which were soon after conferred on board the Uranie, with the approbation of the Commander, (who officiated as sponsor,) by the Rev. Chaplain, M. l'Abbe de Quelin, cousin of the archbishop of Paris. Governor Boki,

following the example of his brother, in a few days succeeding made intercession for the reception of similar rites, and was in consequence baptized, receiving the name of Paul, by the same venerable divine."

The celebrated M. Arago, in his letters on Freycinet's voyage, describes this baptism as a ludicrous affair, and subjoins the remark, that "after exchanging presents with M. Freycinet, the minister Pitt took his leave, and went home to his seven wives, and to sacrifice to his idols." There is no reason to doubt that both he and Boki continued to practise their old idolatry, till it was abolished the next November.

The pamphlet then mentions the departure of the king and his suite, including "Mr. John Rives, a French gentleman," for England, in the autumn of 1823, the death of the king and queen in London, and the appointment of Boki as his representative in England, and as guardian, in conjunction with Kalaimoku, of his younger brother, the present king. It omits to mention some important facts, which we must supply. The King, before he embarked for England, appointed Kalaimoku, the prime minister, and Kaahumanu, who had been the favorite wife of his father, regents of the realm during his absence, and during the minority of his brother, if he should not return. As such they were always recognized by the other chiefs, and by the people. Boki's office has been called by different names, as guardian, tutor, and steward. The present king, in a letter written to the king of England in 1837, says that Boki was his steward, and had the oversight of the royal household. Of course he was subordinate to the regents; as the present tutor of Isabella, the infant queen of Spain, is subordinate to Espartero, the regent of the realm.

Meanwhile, important events were occurring at the Islands. Kaumuali, the tributary king of Kauai, died in May, 1824,—about the time of Libohilo's arrival in England. He bequeathed his island to the regents, in trust for the king. Kalaimoku repaired to Kauai, to receive the submission of the chiefs. But though the practice of idolatry had been suppressed, there was still a party there who were its secret friends. They persuaded George Kaumuali to set up for independence as king of that island. At their head he attacked the fort, soon after the regent entered it; but was repulsed, and in a few days afterwards defeated in a decisive battle. This insurrection of the image worshippers was the only war that had arisen among them since the suppression of idolatry, and the battle which followed it.

Mr. Rives we are told, obtained leave of Boki to visit his relatives in France:—

"But before his departure, the governor, not forgetful of the religion he had embraced, empowered him to engage, if practicable, a certain number of priests of the Catholic faith, to proceed to Hawaii as missionaries. He made application to the college of Picpus, in Paris, for priests to be sent to the Sandwich Islands, which, after some delay, was favorably received, and in July, 1826, the Rev. John Alexius Augustine Bachelot, member of that institution, was constituted Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands, by His Holiness Pope Leo XII. On the 17th of November following, in company with two other Catholic clergymen, Messrs. Armand, (a Frenchman,) and Short, (a subject of Great Britain,) together with four laymen, he sailed from Bordeaux, in the French ship Comet, Capt. Plassad, and arrived at Honolulu, (Oahu,) on the 7th of July, A. D. 1827."

That Rives went to France and engaged Roman Catholic missionaries, is very true; but that he was authorized by Boki to do it, is a new story, first published, so far as we know, in this pamphlet, ten years after Boki's death, and inconsistent with well known facts. In the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," where it certainly would appear if any apology could be found for inserting it, no such pretence is set up, either by the editors or by the priests. The facts are, that while in France, Rives pretended to possess immense wealth and unbounded influence at the Sandwich Islands, where, he said, he had large plantations. He not only engaged his

priests and promised to pay for their passage, but purchased pictures and other ornaments for their church, and a large amount of other goods, for all of which he was to pay a high price on their delivery at the Islands.

The Regency settled.

Boki returned from England in the British frigate Blonde, Capt. Lord Byron, which was sent to convey the bodies of the king and queen. While at the islands, Lord Byron acted as an authorized representative of the king of England, on whom the kings of the Sandwich Islands have acknowledged some indefinite kind of dependence, ever since the days of Vancouver. A great council of the nation was held on the 6th of June, 1825, at which the young king's title was acknowledged, and Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu were formally recognised and confirmed as regents during his minority, by the assembled chiefs, in the presence of Lord Byron, his Britannic Majesty's representative. This the pamphlet before us conveniently omits. Boki told the people, that while in England, he asked the king of that country concerning the American missionaries, and that the king charged the islanders, as they valued his friendship, to give heed to their instructions. This advice Boki endeavored to enforce, by avowing his own solemn conviction of its importance.

In January, 1827, before the arrival of the Romish missionaries, Kalaimoku, "the iron cable of the country," as the natives call him, died in the triumphs of Christian faith, leaving Kaahumanu sole regent. As her title to that office is a point of very great importance, we must spend a moment in considering it.

She was appointed regent, jointly with Kalaimoku, by Libolibo, before embarking for England. That appointment was acknowledged and confirmed, by the assembled chiefs, in presence and with the approbation of Lord Byron, when there as commander of the Blonde, and representative of the British government. In 1829, her title was formally acknowledged by the President of the United States, who sent her presents. They were conveyed by the U. S. ship Vincennes, Capt. Finch, which was sent to make reparation for outrages in which Americans had been concerned. Capt. Finch, on his formal presentation at court, was introduced to her as regent by Mr. Jones, then American Consul at Honolulu. Capt. Finch addressed her as regent, in the letters which passed between them during his visit. In the public documents issued while Capt. Finch was there, her name appears as regent, in connection with the names of the king, of Boki, of Kuakini, of Hoapili, and of Naihe, all of whom thus acknowledged her title. The only other male chief of equal rank with even the lowest of these, was Kaikioewa, governor of Kauai, who always acknowledged her as regent, but who was absent, on his distant island, when these papers were signed. Consuls of foreign powers, commanders of ships of war and of merchant vessels, every body, in short, who had business to transact with the supreme executive of the nation, always addressed her as regent. Indeed, her title never was questioned, except as will soon be related.

Unauthorized landing of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Theory of Roman Catholic missions.

The king, in his letter to the American consul, given on a preceding page, says, "When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the islands, and also their business. They landed secretly in the country, without Kaahumanu's hearing anything about their remaining here." The pamphlet informs us that they went directly to Boki, "who received them in the most open and friendly manner," and ordered a house to be prepared for their reception. But it has never been asserted, so far as we can ascertain, that Boki gave them leave to remain there permanently, as missiona-

ries, though statements have been made, which would naturally be understood to imply it. In fact, both Boki and the priests knew that he had no authority to grant such permission. Even at a much later period, the priests were aware that they had never received such permission from the government. M. Bachelot, in his letter of December 18, 1835, giving an account of his expulsion from the islands, says—

“Among our Kanacs, [Sandwich Islanders]* a *yes* is a sacred promise ; but we had never obtained the formal *yes*, in relation to our remaining on these islands ; and, though several of the chiefs had a thousand times expressed great friendship for us, and even the young king himself had gone so far as to wish to learn the French language of us, the *yes* for our remaining had never been uttered ; and, moreover, it never came into my mind to ask for it, till it was too late. See what a person is exposed to, when unacquainted with the customs of a country.”

This is perfectly natural ; for, according to the theory of Roman Catholic missions, he was under no obligation to ask, nor had the government any right to refuse. That system, though carried on by fraud and violence, has its theoretic foundation in fanaticism. It assumes, that God appoints every missionary, and sends him to his station, with full authority to enter and commence and carry on his labors ; so that any opposition to him is rebellion against God. A few extracts will explain the matter. M. Bruguière, titular bishop of Capse, gives the following account of his call to a mission in Corea :—

“I was yet in France, and very young, when I first heard of the mission in Corea. The forlorn condition of those poor converts excited in me a strong desire to visit them ; but feeling my insufficiency, and seeing no means of executing such a project, I contented myself with offering vows for their salvation. I cherished the desire in my heart for many years, regarding it rather as an inclination which had no practical bearing, than as the sign of a true vocation.”

Circumstances afterwards becoming more favorable, he made known his feelings to his ecclesiastical superiors, who were well pleased with the proposal. Feeling still some scruples, he wrote directly to the Pope, “nearly in these words :”

“My mind remains unchanged, in respect to the mission to Corea ; but there are sometimes desires which are not inspired by the Holy Spirit. There is a way which seems right to a man, but it leads to death. As you are constituted Vicar of Him who said, ‘Go, teach all nations,’ I conjure your Holiness to examine my vocation, and if it is approved, to give orders for my departure. While waiting to know the mind of your Holiness, I shall strive to perform my part in the mission where I am, as if I were always to remain in it ; and yet I shall hold myself ready, as in duty bound, to leave it at any moment.” See *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. 9, pp. 196, 198.

He afterwards received, from the proper officer of the Propaganda, orders to proceed on his mission. Being thus authorized, as he supposed, by an inward call from God, and an outward call from God’s vicegerent, the Pope, he felt that he needed no permission from man. By the assistance of native Chinese Roman Catholics, he entered China in violation of the laws of the Empire, evaded the vigilance of the Mandarins, passed on to Tartary, and died on the frontiers of Corea. See his journal, *Annals*, vol. 9. One of his clergy, M. Maubant, similarly authorized, pursued a similar course. He eluded the custom house on the frontiers of Corea, by creeping through an aqueduct in the night, and thus made his way into the kingdom. *Annals*, vol. 11, p. 344. Another of his clergy, M. Chas-

*In the Hawaiian language, *kanaka* signifies a man. It is used, however, only in speaking of the common people, while the chiefs are always mentioned by their distinctive title. Foreign sailors, not understanding the peculiarities of the language, use it as a national epithet.

tan, on his way to Corea along the coast, saw a Chinese junk about to sail for Japan. Here the Roman Catholics once had a flourishing mission; but being detected in a conspiracy to seize the government by military force, they were expelled in 1637, their followers were put to death, and since that time, Europeans have been rigidly excluded from the country. The thought struck him that a missionary well acquainted with the Chinese language, might take passage in one of these junks, "under the pretence of commerce," and thus make his way into Japan. He communicated his plan to M. Bruguière, who, after consulting another bishop, gave him permission to make the attempt. M. Chastan replied, accepting the appointment, and promising to obey his bishop's "orders," by sailing in June of that year, 1835. M. Bruguière wrote again, "nearly in these terms:"

"I have given you no orders, but merely an invitation. I have only an indirect jurisdiction over Japan. It is not certain that your mission is from God. I think that, as the entrance into Corea presents less difficulty this year, it is more safe and prudent to enter Corea first, and then to pass on to Japan. Yet I would by no means restrain your zeal. If you have found a favorable opportunity for entering those unhappy islands, take advantage of it." Annals, vol. 9, p. 278.

Here, again, the same theory of missions shows itself. The Pope, by appointing M. Bruguière bishop of Corea, had given him an "indirect jurisdiction" over the adjacent islands of Japan. He claimed a right, therefore, to send missionaries into Japan, though obliged to do it secretly, "under pretence of commerce." M. Chastan had what seemed to be an inward call; but as his vocation was not decisively confirmed by his bishop, he continued his journey to Corea.

The reader will now be able to appreciate the following passages of a letter written by M. Bachelot, July 9, 1831, to Mr. Hill, an Englishman, who urged his departure from the Sandwich Islands:—

"There is nothing that I have more at heart, than the true happiness of this people, whose amiable natural qualities have endeared them to me; nothing that I desire more than their progress in religion. What other motive, Sir, could have induced me to leave my family, my friends, every thing that was dear to me in France, to live the life of an exile in these islands, with no assurance that I should here find the necessaries of life, except the word of Him who feeds the fowls of the air, clothes with their brilliancy the lillies of the field, forbids his disciples to disquiet themselves about bodily wants, and prescribes to them what they are to do, when they are sent forth, either immediately by himself, or by his representatives on earth?" Annals, vol. 10, p. 373.

"You say, we ought not to kick against the goad. If, by that goad, Sir, you mean the prohibitions of men, and their opposition, I will ask you, with Peter and John, Consider whether it is right to obey men rather than God; and whether the apostles, and their successors, the evangelical laborers in China and elsewhere, have read in the gospel, that they ought to abandon the work of God, because it was prohibited by the great ones of the earth, whom the low and poor have always preceded in their adhesion to the truth." Annals, vol. 10, p. 376.

Here M. Bachelot evidently takes it for granted, that God, whom all are bound to obey, "either immediately, or by his representative," the Pope, whom all are equally bound to obey, has sent him to the Sandwich Islands as a missionary; that "the great ones of the earth" have no right to forbid his entrance, or oppose his labors; and that, if they do, it is his duty to disregard their prohibitions; and he quotes with approbation the example of Romish missionaries in and around China, who make their way into places from which the laws exclude them, by bribing the natives, creeping through aqueducts, and disguising themselves as merchants. Having such views of his own rights, it is no wonder that "it never came into his mind to ask" for leave to land and labor at Honolulu, "till it was too late." In fact, Romish missionaries seldom, if ever, ask leave to enter

and remain in any country ; perhaps, because it would be an apparent concession of the right of the government to exclude them.

It appears, then, by the testimony of the "apostolic prefect" himself, that permission from the government to remain there permanently as missionaries, had never been obtained, or even asked. His testimony fully supports that of the king, and flatly contradicts the insinuation, that they had obtained leave of the government to remain there as missionaries. The facts are these :

They are ordered away, but remain.

As soon as the regent learned that they had landed, she ordered them to leave the islands in the vessel that brought them. The king, in his letter to William IV., before mentioned, says that Boki carried the order. Boki also told an American merchant there, a man of unquestionable veracity, now residing near Boston, that he thought, as the other chiefs did, that these priests would do harm rather than good, and ought to leave the islands ; though, as strangers, he wished to treat them kindly while they remained. The French captain, who brought the priests, told the same gentleman, that the government had ordered him to take them away ; but added, with an oath,—“I have had trouble enough with them, and they shall not go on board my ship again.”

In the pamphlet, the nature of some of the captain's “trouble” is carefully covered up in these words :—“Capt. Plassad, finding himself disappointed in the principal object of his voyage, after completing his wood and water, sailed from Oahu, leaving his passengers to provide for themselves, without any means except their own exertions.” The “principal object of his voyage” was to deliver the goods that Rives had bought, and get his pay for them and for bringing the priests. He could find neither Rives nor any of his boasted wealth, nor anybody that wanted his goods, or would pay for the passage of the Romish missionaries. He therefore took advantage of the position of his vessel, beyond the range of the guns of the fort, as he had avowed his intention of doing, sailed from the islands and left them ; and, as the government was unwilling to throw them into the ocean, there was no way but to suffer them to remain on land till they could be sent away in some other vessel. Rives, we believe, has not shown himself at the islands since. Thus the Romish priests were landed in violation of the law of the country, which requires all foreigners to obtain permission before landing, and staid there and commenced their labors in disregard of an express order from its supreme executive. Whatever we may think of such laws and orders, a knowledge of this fact is necessary, if we would understand the feelings and motives of the government in their subsequent transactions.

Their religion examined by the chiefs, and condemned.

The priests celebrated their first mass, it is said, July 14, 1827, and opened a chapel which they had built, about the first of January, 1828. It was soon reported, by some who had witnessed their services, that they worshipped images. The report excited no little astonishment and curiosity, and the young king went once to the chapel, to see for himself whether it was true. He gives an account of his visit, in his letter to William IV. He found the report correct, and says that he could scarce avoid laughing at the absurdity of worshipping a lifeless stock. Some of the chiefs made a business of investigating the matter ; and, having become acquainted with the popish doctrine of veneration for the relics of saints, and their regulations concerning fasts, they reported that “this new religion was all about worshipping images and dead men's bones, and *tabus* on meat, and was just like the old religion of the islands.” Their old religion,

they knew, was bad in its nature, and in its whole tendency. It wrought "only evil, and that continually," while in power; and since its suppression, its partizans had twice involved the nation in civil war. They did not wish to have such a religion taught. Several captains of English vessels told them, that Romish priests had often excited wars in Europe, on account of religion; and one of them told how some of his own ancestors had "died in that slaughter." They predicted, that if these priests were allowed to remain, they would involve the islands in war, and advised the chiefs to send them away. The disregard of law and authority which the priests had shown, by their manner of coming and remaining, was well adapted to strengthen these impressions on the minds of the chiefs. All that they could remember or learn concerning worshippers of images and dead men's bones, and keepers of *tabus*, in any country or age of the world, seemed to indicate that these men would make trouble. Affairs were brought to a crisis by another train of causes, which had been for some years growing towards maturity.

* *Opposition to moral improvement. Arrival of the Vincennes.*

We have already stated, that when the American missionaries first arrived, some of the resident foreigners attempted to prevent their obtaining permission to land, and that Rives, during the first year of their residence there, threatened them with expulsion at its close. The fears of that party were realized. Schools were established throughout the islands, and thousands learned to read and write. The gospel was preached, and parts of the Bible, as fast as they could be translated, were printed and put in circulation. Churches were organized, and Christian ordinances administered. The chiefs and people demanded a code of written laws; but the party of which we have spoken opposed its formation, and riotously broke up one grand council of the nation which had been convened for that purpose. Proclamations, however, had been issued, forbidding women to frequent foreign vessels in the ports, and some other vices. In opposition to these orders, mobs were raised, the lives of some of the missionaries and principal chiefs were threatened, and their houses attacked and broken open, with the evident intention of putting them to death. The proof of some of these atrocities is on record in the office of the Secretary of the Navy, at Washington, and has been the basis of official action by our government. In 1826, such a mob attacked the house of the regent Kalaimoku, and broke in his windows, but were driven thence by the natives; and a few minutes after, another mob attacked the house of Mr. Bingham. In 1827, an English whale ship, with similar motives, fired upon the house of Mr. Richards, at Lahaina. At last, October 7, 1829, the king issued a proclamation, in his own name and that of the regent and principal chiefs, declaring that the laws of his country forbade murder, theft, licentiousness, retailing ardent spirits, Sabbath-breaking, and gambling; and that these laws were in force against foreigners residing in his kingdom, as well as his own subjects. This was done in the midst of violent opposition from the party of which we have spoken. It was currently reported and generally believed that their most prominent leader boasted that he had 500 men at his command, and that he had threatened to depose the regent, seize the persons of the king and his sister, take possession of the forts, and change the governors of the several islands. The insolence of the party was temporarily checked, and not improbably an outbreak prevented, by the arrival of the United States' sloop of war Vincennes, Capt. Finch, on the 14th, which has been already mentioned. Capt. Finch brought a letter to the king, written by the Secretary of the Navy by order of the President. The letter fortunately contained the following passage:—

"The President also anxiously hopes that peace and kindness and justice will prevail between your people and those citizens of the United States who visit your

islands, and that the regulations of your government will be such as to enforce them upon all. Our citizens, who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment."

This silenced, for a time at least, the pretence that the Sandwich Islands' government had no right to make laws, or to punish resident foreigners for their crimes. And be it remembered, that Kaahumanu was distinctly acknowledged as regent by the President of the United States, who sent her a present in that capacity, and by Capt. Finch and the American consul in all their official intercourse with the government.

Boki's Conspiracy.—Opposition to schools.—Edict against Romish worship.

The party, however, was not extinct. It had gained complete ascendancy over the hitherto vacillating Boki, who was an easy-tempered, pliable man, and perfectly manageable by his bottle companions when intoxicated. We think there can be no doubt, that they at last persuaded him to aim at the regency. It is asserted by the king, in his letter to William IV., that he threatened the life of Kaahumanu; and there is other evidence that he meditated revolution and bloodshed. He appears to have become the steady friend of the Romish priests; and the whole party was clamorous in their favor. The priests were thus found to be identified with the most dangerous enemies of the government.

It was found, too, that natives who became followers of the priests, could not be educated. The government was earnestly engaged in teaching all the people to read and write; but the followers of the priests could not be induced to receive instruction. M. Bachelot, in some of his letters published in the "Annals," before quoted, boasts of their constancy in refusing to attend schools, or to be present at Protestant worship, after he told them it was a sin to be present there in body, even if their hearts did not join in the services. For such reasons the natives were forbidden to attend Roman Catholic worship. The order was issued by Boki, at the command of the regent.

In 1829, Boki sailed, with two vessels, on a wild expedition after sandal wood, which, he had been told, might be procured in great abundance on a newly discovered island,—probably Erromanga, where the celebrated English missionary, Williams, was lately killed and eaten by the barbarous inhabitants. The vessels lost sight of each other, and nothing further has ever been heard of that on board of which Boki sailed. He left the government of Oahu in the hands of Liliha, his wife. According to M. Bachelot, Kaikioewa, governor of Kauai, succeeded him as tutor to the king.

Conspiracy suppressed by Kuakini.

During a great part of the year 1830, the king and regent were at Lahaina, and at other places on Maui and Hawaii. During their absence, the conspiracy was fast ripening at Honolulu, under the administration of Liliha. The laws were disregarded, more than twenty tippling shops were opened, gaming was openly practised, and all restraint on vice seemed to be at an end. Military preparations were made, for which no object was avowed, and no lawful object could be imagined, and so extensive that the report of them caused alarm in all the islands of the group. The regent, finding that the time had come to act vigorously, ordered her brother, Kuakini, governor of Hawaii, to repair to Oahu, as governor of that island, and to suppress the insurrection. The Romish priests assert that he landed troops at the same moment, and unexpectedly, on several parts of the island,—which is very probable. He established an armed police at Honolulu, strong enough to enforce obedience, suppressed the grog shops and

gaming houses, and re-established the reign of law. Various attempts were made to evade the laws. Some professed to sell coffee and give away rum; but Kuakini was not to be trifled with in any such way. Others begged to be allowed to sell to foreigners only. His reply was, "To horses, cattle and hogs, you may sell rum; but to real men you must not on these shores."

The Priests ordered away. Their duplicity.

Kuakini's next important movement was to send away the Romish priests, who taught the people to "worship images and dead men's bones," and to observe "tabus on meat," and whose partisans had just planned and made formidable preparations for commencing the third civil war since the abolition of such worship in 1819.

M. Bachelot states that the royal order for their departure was delivered to him in writing, by Kaikioewa, at a council of the chiefs in April, 1831. The author of the pamphlet says:—

"Application was then made by Messrs. Bachelot and Short, to the masters of different vessels, to provide them with a passage, but without effect; the authorities of the island finally prevailed on the commander of a Prussian ship to consent to take them to China for \$5,000 dollars; that sum, of course, the priests could not nor would not pay, and consequently they were permitted to remain."

The account which the apostolic prefect sent to France, and his employers published for the edification of the faithful throughout Europe, reads thus:—

"That we might appear to yield in some degree to the demands of the chiefs, and to avoid irritating them, we took care, when any vessel was about to depart, to request, in writing, of the captain, a gratuitous passage. We did this in respect to several; and as they knew our intentions, they answered us, also in writing, and absolutely refused to grant our request; for no captain was willing to engage in executing the sentence pronounced against us.

"A short time afterwards, a Prussian vessel arrived, the captain of which brought presents from the king of Prussia to the young king of the Sandwich Islands. The arrival of this vessel furnished an occasion for a new attempt to compel us to leave the archipelago. The governor of Hawaii re-appeared. 'Here,' said he to me, 'is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land.' 'What you say is reasonable,' I replied, 'but who will pay my passage? I came here with nothing but my body and the word of God; my heart has not been upon the things of this world; I have amassed no money.' 'Perhaps he will take you for nothing.' 'It is possible; but ask him yourself, and we shall see.' Kuakini retired with this answer. The captain came to see us; I explained to him our situation; he obligingly offered to receive us on board of his vessel, if we wished to depart; but if not, he told us to make an application to him in writing, and to dictate the answer which we wished him to make; which was done. The governor of Hawaii also went to see him, and urged him to take charge of us. The Prussian captain answered him that he would do it with pleasure, but that before M. Patrick and I could come on board, he must be paid five thousand dollars, (more than twenty-five thousand francs.) The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money. He was therefore obliged to abandon his project." Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. 10, p. 370.

The Priests sent to California. A Misrepresentation exposed.

Finding that there was no other way to get the priests out of the country, the government fitted out a vessel of its own, put them on board about the last of December, and sent them to California. Of their arrival, the author of the pamphlet says and quotes as follows:—

"On the afternoon of the 28th of January, 1832, the Waverly arrived at St. Pedro, on the coast of California, and the next morning, the prisoners were landed 'on a barren strand, with two bottles of water and one biscuit, and there left on the very beach, without even a tree or shrub to shelter them from the weather, exposed

to the fury of the wild beasts, which were heard howling in every direction, and for aught their merciless jailor could know, perhaps perish before morning. No habitation of man was nearer to them than forty miles, save a small hut, at the distance of two leagues. On the beach, then, with the wild surf breaking beneath their very feet, they passed a sleepless night, with the canopy of heaven to cover them, and the arm of Omnipotence to shield. Forty-eight hours from the time of their disembarkation, they were welcomed at the mission of St. Gabriel, where they received that kindness and sympathy from their brethren of the cross, which in this land had been denied them by the professed followers of the humble Jesus."

Though it seems a pity to mar this beautiful specimen of the pathetic, we must here give a few additional facts, from M. Bachelot's letter, published in the *Annals*, vol. x. p. 362. He writes:—

"The American consul* had informed the governor-general of California of the efforts which were made to expel us from the Sandwich archipelago, and had asked him if he would receive us, if we should be sent to his territory. The governor had answered, that we should not only be well received, but very useful. The prefect of the missions and another Franciscan father had also written to us, and besought us not to seek for any other asylum. They informed us of their advanced age, their infirmities, their small number, and their consequent need of us."

M. Bachelot also informs us, that before they were landed at St. Pedro, the captain sent information of their arrival to a farmer in the neighborhood, who knew who they were, and had transmitted supplies to them while they were at Honolulu. The farmer first visited them on board, and then sent a young man to take care of their baggage. The young man supplied them with provisions, and slept with them by the side of an uninhabited hut at night. They had been told that the country abounded with bears, and were very much afraid of an attack from them; but the only "wild beasts" which they actually saw, were grey squirrels. The pamphlet says that the wild beasts "were heard howling in every direction;" but M. Bachelot says nothing of the kind.

The Reason for their Expulsion.

The thought that the Romish priests were sent away for a real or supposed connection with a treasonable conspiracy against the government, may be new to many of our readers; but it is not new at the Sandwich Islands. As this is a very important point, we must consider the evidence a little more minutely. The pamphlet says:—

"It was feared, by the chiefs and their advisers, that the mere crime of being Catholics would not, in the eyes of the world, be sufficient cause for banishing the priests; and it was therefore determined to accuse them of sedition, of turning away the people to stand opposed to the chiefs."

In confirmation, its author quotes the proclamation of Kaahumanu, issued December 7, 1831,—about three weeks before they were put on board the *Waverly*.

"This is our reason for sending away the Frenchmen. In the first place, the chiefs never assented to their dwelling at Oahu; and when they turned away some of our people to stand opposed to us, then we said to them, return to the country whence ye came."

The writer correctly understands this standing opposed to the chiefs, not of a mere difference of religious belief and practice, but of a seditious opposition to the government. The meaning is, that the priests "turned away" some of the people from their duty to the regent and great body of the chiefs, and induced them to join the conspiracy against the government, for which Liliha had made military preparations, and which Kuakini had suppressed. This was the reason assigned by the regent for their banish-

* The reputed author of the pamphlet was then American consul.

ment, before it took place. The same writer also informs us, that M. Bachelot, after his return from California in 1837, "was directed to sign a document, (handed him,) acknowledging that himself and Mr. Short had been banished before, for exciting rebellion in the country." The government, then, persevered in its charge against them. The same reason for their banishment was assigned by the king, in his "Ordinance rejecting the Catholic Religion," issued at Lahaina, December 18, 1837.

We have not undertaken, nor can we reasonably be required, to show that the Romish priests were guilty. It is enough, for the purposes of our argument, that the government believed them guilty, and banished them for that reason. This we have shown; and we have shown how the belief of their guilt very naturally arose in the minds of the king, the regent, and the chiefs. However, as it is very easily done, we will prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the priests were either members of the conspiracy, or dupes and tools of the conspirators. We quote from the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. vi., p. 94 and onward.

"Kaahumanu had always been ambitious to keep all the authority in her own hands; but her power was counterpoised by Boki, regent of the realm and governor of the young king. Boki was fond of foreigners, and showed himself favorable enough to the missionaries; though he thought himself obliged to use management with the old queen. He had a certain number of chiefs on his side. Several Americans and some Englishmen were also on his side, because they were with reason suspicious of Kaahumanu. The two consuls, English and American, were particularly attached to him."

We may safely assume, that this information was sent to France by the Messrs. Bachelot and Short. From them the French editor learned that Boki, the king's steward, was regent, and Kaahumanu an ambitious old woman, scheming to usurp the supreme authority. We learn, too, that Boki had a party on his side, against the "old queen;" and finally we learn that Mr. Charlton, the British Consul, and Mr. Jones, the American Consul, were zealous members of that party.—After mentioning the death of Boki and some other events, the editor of the *Annals* proceeds:—

"Such was the state of things at the close of 1829. The old Kaahumanu never forgot her ambitious projects. Shortly after Boki's departure, she attempted to displace all his partisans, and deprive them of the dignities which Boki had conferred on them. They refused compliance, protesting that they would not resign the power intrusted to them, except to him from whom they had received it. Moreover, the wife of Boki still held the title of regent and governess of Oahu."

The faction, it seems, was determined to have a regent of its own selection, even after Boki's death. This "wife of Boki" was Liliha, whose preparations for war brought Kuakini to Oahu. On what ground they claimed the regency for her, does not appear. They pretended that Boki must be the regent, because he was the king's "governor;" but that office, M. Bachelot informs us, was now held by Kaikioewa.

More might be quoted from the *Annals* to the same purpose; but this is enough. The pamphlet before us speaks the language of the party. Speaking of the first arrival of the priests and the order for their departure in the vessel that brought them, it says:—

"It will be understood that, at this period, Boki was the sole guardian of the king, (then a minor,) his brother Kalaimoku being dead, and as such had an undoubted right and power to grant the catholic missionaries liberty to remain and pursue the avocations of their calling.—If such an order was ever given, it must have emanated from Kaahumanu, one of the widows of Kamehameha I.; an old woman completely under the influence of the protestant missionaries, who, properly speaking, had no legal right to dictation, but under the false idea that 'might makes right,' had arrogantly assumed to herself the power solely to regulate and control the public and private affairs of the whole nation. Capt. Plassad, very properly, if he ever received an order from that source to such effect, gave no heed to it, knowing, as he did, that he had been fully authorized by the only legal authority to disembark

his passengers and their effects. That Boki was the legal and only representative of the king, during his minority, the most satisfactory and incontrovertible proofs are extant; indeed, we have never for a moment heard it questioned, except by the missionaries, who made every exertion to destroy, if possible, the power and influence of that noble minded chief, whose popularity they feared, and whose liberal principles they sought by every stratagem to eradicate."

"Never heard it questioned!" The reputed author of this pamphlet, on the 14th of October, 1829, conducted Capt. Finch, of the Vincennes, to the palace, and introduced him to the king, and to Kaahumanu, who was sitting on a sofa at the king's right hand, as regent; and during that interview he saw a silver vase, inscribed with the arms of the United States, and her name, brought forward as a present from our government to the regent; and as United States' Consul, he habitually transacted business with her as regent, for years. If the work be really his, it betrays a recklessness, not only of truth, but of the danger of exposure, which is truly astonishing.

The proof, then, is conclusive, that there was at Honolulu, at the time under consideration, a seditious conspiracy against the government; that the Romish priests, either as dupes or otherwise, lent their influence for its promotion; and that the part which they acted in this conspiracy was the real cause of their banishment.

But let us take another view of the subject. It is not only conceded, but asserted, by all parties, that the supreme power was, by some means, whether right or wrong, in the hands of Kaahumanu. Now, what if Boki had a right to the regency, and Kaahumanu and her party, which comprised all the royal family, all the chiefs of the first rank, and all the governors of the several islands except Boki, were mere usurpers? Why, just this will follow:—The Romish priests, on their arrival, found the government of the kingdom in the wrong hands, and engaged in revolutionary projects and movements, for the purpose of placing it where it should be; the usurping party proved the strongest, the insurrection was quelled, and the priests, as its abettors, were sent to California.

And here, again, we might close; having shown the true cause of the expulsion of the Romish priests, and thus removed all temptation for suspecting, in the absence of proof, and against the most conclusive proof, that it must have been the work of the American missionaries. But, for the sake of giving completeness to the history, it may be well to notice a few things more.

Persecution of Native Romanists. Its discontinuance.

When the Sandwich Islands government learned that the religion of Rome resembled their old idolatry in its worship of images and dead men's bones, and its *tabus* on meat, they at once suspected that it would prove, like their old idolatry, a bloody and seditious religion. By conversation with Europeans, as already shown, this suspicion was confirmed. The conduct of the priests, in landing as they did, and after they had landed, seemed to be conclusive proof of it. They therefore resolved to prevent its extension among their own people; and for this purpose, proceeded to inflict punishment on some, for the mere fact of adhering to that religion. Concerning the number and severity of such punishments, statements differ widely. Nobody, however, in any part of the Christian world, justifies them. The American missionaries opposed them, by remonstrance and advice, the only proper means for them to use, from the beginning, and continued their opposition till an order was issued for their discontinuance, on the 17th of June, 1839, which was twenty-two days before the arrival of Capt. Laplace. This their early and persevering opposition is proved, not only by their own assertions, but by the king's letter to Mr. Brinsmade, the American Consul. A single slander, on this point, remains to be exposed.

The author of the pamphlet, speaking of certain women who were confined to the fort on the 24th of June, says :—

“ One of the foreign gentlemen, when he entered the fort and beheld the distressing situation of the wretched females, influenced by motives of humanity, hastened to bring, if possible, the Rev. Mr. Bingham to the scene of cruelty, thinking that he might possess power sufficient to liberate the sufferers. He met the Reverend gentleman, and entreated him, for the sake of humanity, to come with him to the place of persecution. What was his reply? He knew that it must be for some other cause that the females were punished, and he did not wish to interfere with the laws of the land. Saying this, he drove off, (for he was in a car,) as unconcerned as if nothing had occurred.”

Mr. Bingham very naturally believed that the punishment was inflicted for some other cause, as he knew what orders had been issued a week before, and as the chiefs had promised him that no more punishments for religion should be inflicted. But whither did he drive, in his car? Directly to Kekuanaoa, to tell him what he had heard, and if it should be necessary, to urge the instant liberation of the women; which was done; “ for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.” The case is correctly stated in the king’s letter to the American Consul. And be it remembered, that letter was before the author of the pamphlet, while inditing his calumnies. It is contained in a pamphlet, to which his was intended as a reply; and though he carefully avoids mentioning even the existence of that letter, he makes extracts from it, and comments upon them. It cannot be supposed, therefore, that this misrepresentation was the result of ignorance.

Much has been said of the severity of these punishments, as if that was the fault of the missionaries; but how can it be charged to them, when they were doing their best to prevent such punishments altogether? And it should be remembered, that but for the humanizing influence which the mission had exerted, the offenders, instead of being imprisoned or sentenced to hard labor, would have been made food for sharks, or perhaps for men.

Roman Catholic Idolatry.

One more topic, and we have done. The missionaries are accused of teaching, that the Roman Catholic use of images is idolatry. It will be recollected, that when Mr. Bingham first remonstrated with Kaahumanu against the punishment of the Roman Catholics, he told her, “ You have no law that will apply;” and that she answered, “ The law respecting idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken.” She referred to the law of November, 1819, by which idolatry was abolished before the missionaries arrived, and which therefore could not have been procured by their influence. That law was not “ in favor of the Christian faith,” as has been said, but simply against idolatry, as a pernicious system. The thought of applying it to proselytes of the Romish priests, originated with Kaahumanu, or some of her native advisers, and was new to Mr. Bingham when she first advanced it. However, let us hear this charge, according to its latest and most plausible statement, by a correspondent of one of the daily papers in Boston :—

“ But for the sake of argument, let us admit, for the moment, that our missionaries *did not*, directly and explicitly, influence and advise the native authorities to banish the foreign Catholics, to prohibit their landing and residence, and to persecute, as was most cruelly done, the native Catholics;—yet it is evident they did the same, or something equivalent to it, *indirectly*. A law had been made by which the old religion was abolished, in favor of the Christian faith. That religion was *idolatrous*; and this law, to suppress it, *prohibited idolatry*, meaning thereby the gross idolatry of that pagan religion. Now the American missionaries were shrewd enough to perceive, that by making the native authorities believe that the *Catholics* were *idolaters*, they should bring this law to bear against them, prevent the

toleration of their faith, and procure their extermination. They set themselves to work, therefore, in preaching and in conversation, to represent the French priests and their adherents to be *idolaters*. They induced the king to attend their chapel, who, seeing the pictures and crucifixes around the altar, and the reverence paid to them, concluded, at once, as he had been previously told, that worship was rendered them as *gods*, as *idols*, as material, inanimate objects, and not as representations and memorials of the spiritual Deity, or incarnate God, of all Christians, that of the Protestants as well as the Catholics. He thus became deceived, and was led to believe that what the missionaries had told him was true. They did not undeceive him, or explain the difference between the Christian worship of Catholics and the direct pagan worship of idols of wood and stone. Was this honest? Was this liberal? Was this justifiable by the laws and precepts of Christianity, in which there is no *guile*?"

Passing by several errors in matters of fact, which the attentive reader will be able to correct for himself, let us examine the substance of this argument.

All adult Sandwich Islanders had been idolaters themselves, from their infancy, almost to the time under consideration. All had often taken part in idolatrous worship, and some of them had been priests. They were therefore peculiarly competent to judge, whether any form of worship, practised before their eyes, was idolatrous. Their judgment, after a careful examination by some of the most intelligent among them, was, that the worship performed by the Romish priests was of the same nature as the old idolatry of the Islands. They found no essential difference; the priests, it seems, were unable to show them any; and the American missionaries are blamed for not lending their aid, and making the distinction intelligible. They are even accused of helping on the deception, by teaching that the Romish use of images is idolatrous. Instead of this, we are told, they should have taught the natives that the Romanists worship images, not "as gods, as idols, as material, inanimate objects," but "as representations and memorials of the spiritual Deity, or incarnate God."

Suppose they had undertaken to teach the natives thus; what would have been the consequence? The natives would have answered:—"That is just as we used to worship our idols, in the time of dark hearts. We never worshipped them 'as material, inanimate objects,' but 'as representations and memorials of the spiritual Deity,' whose name they bore. We never supposed that the wooden Lono, which we gave to you, and which you sent home to America as a curiosity, used to hear the prayers of the great Kamehameha with its wooden ears, determine, without brains or soul, to grant his request, and walk off with its wooden body to attend him on his campaigns. We believed that while this wooden Lono remained in the malae where it was kept, the invisible Lono, which it represented, went with the conquering monarch to his wars, and subdued his enemies before him." Such would have been their reply. It would have been true, to the letter, and would have been an unanswerable confutation of all that could be said on the other side.

The fact is, no nation or class of men ever practised such idolatry as the Roman Catholics and their apologists describe. The nearest approach to it on record is the idolatry of the mass, in which they worship a piece of bread. But even this is not worshipped as bread, but as "the body and blood, soul and divinity," of the Son of God, into which it is supposed to have been transubstantiated. Take, as sufficient on this point, the testimony of the celebrated Rabbi Maimonides. "You know, that whosoever committeth idolatry, he doth it not as supposing that there is no other god besides that which he worshippeth; for it never came into the minds of any idolaters, nor ever will, that that statue which is made by them of metal, or stone, or wood, is that very God who created heaven and earth; but they worship those statues and images only as the representation of something which is a mediator between God and them." How could the Roman Catholic

use of images, as understood by the more intelligent part of that church, be more accurately described?

While Moses was on Mount Sinai, Aaron, at the request of the people, made a golden calf; and the people said of it, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt;" and they built an altar before it, on which they offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. This was a notable instance of idolatry. But did the Israelites believe that the calf which they saw Aaron make then, was indeed the Deity that had brought them up out of Egypt several weeks before? Or did they worship it as merely "the representation and memorial of the spiritual Deity," that had brought them out of Egypt? Did the Athenians believe that the ivory statue of Jupiter, which, as they well knew, Phidias made at Athens, in their own day, was the very Jupiter who was born some ages before in Crete, and who lived on "high Olympus" with Juno and the other gods; or did they worship it as a "representation and memorial" of him? Did the ancient Romans suppose that the statue of Jupiter Stator, which they made after a battle, to commemorate a victory, was the very Jupiter who had given them that victory, or only a "representation and memorial" of him? And to close with another instance from Scripture, —when "Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin," set up a golden calf at Bethel and another at Dan, he said of each of them, "Behold thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." Did he mean, or did any Israelite whom he thus made to sin, believe, that each of these calves was the very God who had rescued the nation from bondage five centuries before he made it? No. Those calves were worshipped, as idolaters in general have always worshipped images, and as Roman Catholics in particular profess to worship theirs,—"as representations and memorials" of an invisible Deity.

If, then, the American missionaries taught that the Roman Catholic use of images is idolatry, they only taught the truth; a truth which, if the natives had been in any danger of not seeing it, they would have been inexcusable for not teaching. They only taught what all Protestants have believed, ever since Luther's time, and what is embodied in the creed, probably, of every Protestant church in Europe. If they had taught the contrary, they would not only have violated their duty, but labored in vain; for the natives would have known that they were teaching falsehood.

It is very possible, that the All-wise Disposer of events has sent Romanism to the Sandwich Islands, for the very purpose of exposing its idolatrous character. After the ancient heathenism had gone down in Europe, and men had forgotten what it was, the worship of images was introduced, and men were persuaded that idolatry was not that, but something else. Protestantism arose, and declared that image worship is idolatry; but Jesuitism has continued to argue, that there is a distinction between them. Now, Romish image worship is carried into the presence of men who have been idolaters, and is submitted to their inspection. They examine it, and pronounce it idolatry; just such, in its nature, as they practised in the days of their darkness. They are the most competent judges of that question in the world; and we may hope that the world will yet feel and acknowledge the weight of their testimony.

[The following comparison between Hindooism and the Roman Catholic doctrines and ceremonies, extracted from the Memoir of Mrs. HARRIET L. WINSLOW, of the Ceylon Mission, will add to the force of the concluding remarks in the foregoing article.]

"Their use of *images* is similar to that of the heathen; and the same reasons are urged for it; that they represent beings who ought to be reverenced, and that it is necessary for the people, generally, to have some object to worship which may address itself to their senses.

"Placing *lights* before these images, or idols, is a practice alike of the Papists and Pagans. To keep a light burning in a temple is a great act of merit among the Hindoos.

"The offering of *incense* and the sprinkling with *holy water* are the same in Catholic churches and heathen temples.

"The church festivals, when the images and the host are carried about in procession, are similar to the *idol feasts*, when the idols are drawn on cars round the temple yards.

"The use of the *rosary* by the Romanists is the same with that of the *suppah-malah*, or *prayer garland* of the Hindoos; and the *pater-nosters* and *ave-marias* of the former are recited and reiterated in the same manner as the *mantras* of the latter, an account being kept of the number of repetitions by means of the beads.

"The doctrine of *penance*, insisted on so much in the papal church, is altogether a heathen doctrine, and also that of *purgatory*, and the necessity of *ceremonies for the souls of the dead*; all which are seen among the Hindoos.

"The fast-days and feast-days, the ringing of bells, their idolatrous reverence for the priests, who are the keepers of their disciples' consciences, the repetition of prayers in a dead language—in the Latin by one and in Sanscrit by the other—and all the attention to outward show and parade, are the same among Roman and heathen idolaters. The exposing of this relationship between the two forms of superstition caused no small stir among the Roman priests, and induced them to prohibit or modify some of their public processions which were too obviously of heathen origin."

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